DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 261 577 HE 018 654

AUTHOR Williams, Shirley Stennis
TITLE Surviving Double Jeopardy in Academe: Minority Female Administrators at Predominantly White Universities.
PUB DATE Apr 85
NOTE 12p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors (Milwaukee, WI, April 10-13, 1985).
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Administrator Qualifications; *Administrators; *Career Ladders; *College Administration; Employment Opportunities; Equal Opportunities (Jobs); *Females; Higher Education; *Minority Groups; Urban Universities
IDENTIFIERS *Predominantly White Colleges; University of Wisconsin System; *Women Administrators

ABSTRACT

Perspectives on the female, minority administrator at a predominantly white university are presented. After briefly tracing historical developments affecting minority females in education and administration, results of a 1974 study by Moore and Wagstaff of 1,764 four-year colleges are summarized. It was found that most black female administrators at white colleges served in some role related to minority students; few held decision-making positions; and the majority were in urban institutions with large enrollments of black students. In 1984, the University of Wisconsin System completed a study of minorities at their predominantly white campuses. Data are presented that indicate that there are more job opportunities for minority women on the larger University of Wisconsin urban campuses, but that some do exist on the four-year outlying campuses. However, in university extension, there are almost no opportunities on the two-year, non-urban predominantly white campuses. Accomplishments that will help minority women progress in their administrative careers at white institutions are identified, including: (1) obtaining the doctorate; (2) achieving tenure before accepting an assistant-level position; (3) gaining experience in hiring, firing, and budgets; and (4) serving on committees and taking part in activities of professional organizations. (SW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED261577

SURVIVING DOUBLE JEOPARDY IN ACADEME: MINORITY FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS AT PREDOMINANTLY WHITE UNIVERSITIES

SHIRLEY STENNIS WILLIAMS
ASSISTANT VICE CHANCELLOR AND
PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-OSHKOSH
OSHKOSH, WISCONSIN

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Shirley Stennis Williams

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

HE 011 P 654

A presentation for the
National Association
for Women Deans,
Administrators, and
Counselors in
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
April 10-13, 1985

The minority female administrator is a unique entity on the predominantly white campus. She is both the manifestation of the university's ideological/value commitment to equality and, because of her isolation, a constant reminder of the university's failure to move beyond tokenism. What do minority women want, what is their place and how can/have they attained it?

Minority women on campus - whether students, staff, or faculty members - seek open access to the opportunities to which their abilities, their interests, and their willingness to work entitle them (Peterson in Furness, '74, p. 7-8). The minority women entering the academic world as a teacher, staff member or employee asks to be hired on her qualifications and paid and promoted on the basis of the quality of her work. The minority women who has established herself professionally in the academic world seeks the elimination of any barriers to promotion, pay, or other rewards of the academy, such as committee service, honors, membership in policy-making bodies, and appointment to administrative posts.

Barriers exist because she is a woman and because she is a minority. She asks that they be removed along with the mythology that she is sometimes doubly blessed because she can be exploited as a two-fer.

The history of the women's campus movement and women's affirmative action clearly shows that both were outgrowths of the Civil Rights Movement, just as early women's movements for voting rights grew out of the anti-slavery movement. The distancing that has occurred between minority women in the executive suites of academe is not unlike the female schism that occurred after the passage of the 14th Amendment.[1]

****

[1]Concerns of black students also showed this schism. At the turn of the century less than 5% of whites attended college and less than 1% of minorities. They were a privileged class of future leaders whose education would "represent the western cultural tradition and carry it forward" (Gross in Furness, p. 257). When college became a right, or expectation for two-thirds of the high school population, blacks demanded that they, too, share this right in comparable numbers, and that the western cultural tradition be expanded to include minority contributions and studies.
Ironically, the 70's saw a shift toward the technological and utilitarian. When whites demanded changes in the curriculum toward a more practical bent, minorities and women abandoned in large numbers the liberal studies including black and women's courses.

Recently the journals have been replete with the gains that women have made in corporate work and the routes and mentoring that have let Mary Cummings and others there. The white woman's progress has been detailed in Working Women, Ms., and Signs; the black woman's in Essence, and Black Enterprise. Working with men is not new to American white and minority women. When the business of America was largely agriculture, women were the silent and valued partners on the family farms. It was only in the last half of the twentieth century that Rosie the Riveter and Fannie the Farmer were both dispatched to a bungalow.

The place and route of minority women in academic administration is probably most comparable to her sisters in public education. It is a thoroughly researched, but not happy example. Women in public education have progressed from being a minority to being the dominant group to become once again a minority. How did this growth and reversal occur?

In the 19th century schools were taught mostly by men. However, during the early 20th century when demand for schooling exceeded the teacher supply, school boards found that they could staff the schools much more cheaply with women. Soon after, women dominated the elementary schools and became a large part of the secondary schools. They were also the "teachers of teachers." The works of Francis Parker, John Dewey, and Froebel were designed around a core of competent women educators. Black women became the core of the dual school system in the south and also became the "Jeanes" teachers, a supervisory class who worked with underprepared teachers and understaffed rural schools.

Prior to the 1960's, minority women were largely absent from predominantly white colleges, although they were as highly represented in black colleges as white women were in the women's colleges. However, unlike white women who were confined to administration in female institutions, black women headed

coed institutions or held important positions therein. The many negatives of the dual segregated institutions of the south and north have been accurately documented, but on the positive side they became an important focus for minority talent, or were positive role models for students who left them to study for advanced degrees and roles at predominantly white institutions (Moore & Wagstaff, p. 156-68).

After Brown, the 1964 Civil Rights Bill, Title IX, Revised Order 4 and Executive Order 11246, white institutions began to strongly recruit blank students, faculty, and administrators. While there was some concern in the 70's that black and other minority institutions would die, or lose their better students and faculty, this has not proven true. In fact, several Indian and Black institutions (2 years) and a black medical college have been created; and others, like the University of New Mexico, Jackson State, Texas Southern, Wilberforce, Xavier, and Dillard have flourished and become recognized for improved quality and exemplary programs.

"Black career women constitute a larger proportion of the black professional community than women in the white professional world, but not as faculty members and administrators in predominantly white colleges and universities. The representation of black women in these institutions has been so miniscule in the past that their numbers have gone unreported and unanalyzed." (Moore & Wagstaff, 1974, p. 162; See also Epstein, 1973, p. 916.)

Moore and Wagstaff found that black females were at the bottom of the higher education heap. In their study of 1,764 respondent institutions they found that no black woman held the presidency of a predominantly white institution (although Mary Frances Berry was since appointed to and resigned the Chancellorship of a Colorado institution). In four-year colleges, the few who were in administration were usually in staff positions. Of the 633 black women on 4 year campuses, only 4 held deanships, 6 were

associate deans, 11 (3.5%) were assistant deans, and 14 (2.2%) were department chairs. Few held decision making positions and the few who were on the central administrative staff were mostly excluded from the executive suites. Most served in some role related to minority students.

The majority of black female administrators in the Moore and Wagstaff study were in urban institutions with large enrollments of black students. Some were hired because of the idealogical commitment to equality of the administration; others because of affirmative action plans.

There are more minority women administrators in community colleges, which have been called the ghettoes of academe, yet, even here they have not made a significant impact. Of the 1111 two-year campuses, only one was headed by a black woman and it was not predominantly white; only 5 (1%) were deans, the highest line position held by a black woman at a predominantly white campus, but no black female was executive dean or business manager; 8 were division chairs and 5 were vice chairs. They were mostly assistants or assistants to -- with titles and jobs that were not clearly defined or that were supportive. Assistant and associate deans, coordinators, special assistants, administrative assistants, and human relation specialists were the titles that occurred most frequently (p. 163). There are many anecdotal horror stories; yet, there are also many positives that should be noted.

Some writers have pointed out that "black women are now serving as role models for white women." Some of the current behavior and expectations of the women's liberation movements is past history to black women because of their more egalitarian positions and higher levels of education within their own communities (Moore & Wagstaff, '74, p. 174; Adams, '72, pp. 456-8).

In their minority related positions in white academia, minorities have put to good use the effective support services for underprepared learners that were perfected in the black colleges over many decades. The most positive

accolade of all was provided by Jacqueline Fleming in her recent report on Black in College. She found that black colleges make unique contributions to the education of minority youth and that each of three case study private institutions in Atlanta (one a women's college) and (a public college) in Texas produced a special kind of product and special motivation to succeed.

In 1984 the UW System completed a structural study of minorities at their campuses -- all predominantly white -- that shows that not much has changed in the ten years since the Moore and Wagstaff National Study. An overview of the report and its milieu will show why Wisconsin can be cited as a less-than-worst case scenario.

Wisconsin is a predominantly white state that has always had a liberal reputation. It is also noted for the high value that it places in education; and the national ranking of its students on college boards or other indices of quality. A decade ago its flagship (Madison) and urban (Milwaukee) doctoral campuses were merged with its 13 four year campuses into one administrative unit. It early established one affirmative action office for minorities and one for women that were later combined. It also issued a major policy paper (A.P. 7.2) that outlined ambitious goals for minority enrollment and access that equalled the minority percentage of the census, and established goals for each institution. Finally, as a result of recommendations of a 1980 task force on Minority Enrollment in the UW System, it created a senior level position to monitor the M/D Affairs of the system and appropriated funds for a local M/D Coordinator for each campus. The superintendent of the Public Schools is a member of the Board of Regents which governs the system, and the two units work together to foster pluralism. The administrative code for teachers early added a Human Relations requirement for teacher certification and in 1984 a joint UW System, Department of Public Instruction Committee on Minority Student Affairs held hearings across the state and issued a joint report on the Education of Minorities in Wisconsin (May, 1984).

The state is less than 5% minority - mostly first and second generation blacks, both local and transferred Indians, and small numbers of Hispanics and Asians. Blacks and Hispanics are concentrated in the southern third of the state, while Indian reservations are found in the middle and northern half.

The Milwaukee schools were desegregated under a court order, but have since received nationwide acclaim for their magnet schools and city and suburban volunteer busing.

I have been a part of this merged system and the old State College System for 19 years. When I joined it, I was immediately struck by its whiteness. In a community of 50,000 and on a campus of 5,000, I became the sole black faculty member and learned that there were only 5 black students. The numbers for Hispanics, Asian, and American Indians were equally dismal. These figures did not differ greatly from those at the other 4 year campuses; they were some better at the doctoral campuses; much worse at the 2 year campuses.

While not as bleak, the situation for women was quite chilly. The College of Education was 40% female, but only 2 held earned doctorates and none held administrative positions, not even a department chairship. The College of Letters and Science had women professors in English (2 doctorates), foreign language (2 doctorates), and Library Science (2 doctorates). The majority had no terminal degrees. The only women in administration were the director of the library and the dean of women. Later, a College of Nursing was created under a female dean with almost 100% female full-time FTE and a College of Business was added with 2 women doctorates.

While majority females had a long history at the institution dating back to its early history as a normal school, they were not adequate role models for minority women. Since little pressure was placed on those who chose not to pursue the doctorate, they became a kind of permanent underclass with little hope for mobility. (On the other hand, men without doctorates were

made to feel uncomfortable or job-insecure.) While educated black women have traditionally maintained their careers while marrying and having a family, most of these women were not married or had married quite late with no plans to have a family. Most importantly, there was little cohesion between them and they usually failed to support women who aspired for administration or even equal salaries. After the advent of Affirmative Action, a University of Wisconsin (UW) System-Wide Coordinating Council for Women in Higher Education was founded to serve in an advisory capacity to the UW System Office of Women. The group was never very strong and most campuses did not organize or maintain a local unit.

In 1984, the UW Office of Women and Minorities issued a report that documents the place of minority women in the administrative ranks of this "liberal" system. There are no minority women at the system level, although there are several white women. No minority woman heads one of the doctoral, 4 year or 2 year campuses.

Women currently serve as a dean of faculty, an assistant vice chancellor, a dean of the library (and a former dean of a library), and an assistant to the president and vice president within the 13 four-year institutions. On my campus, there is an associate dean, several department chairs, and a coordinator of continuing education.

In 1981 there were 14,817 unclassified men and 6,881 unclassified women in the UW System. 8.0% of these are minorities. 1,236 are men and 499 are women. 221 are black men. 170 are black women.

In 1983-84, of 11,044 unclassified men and 5,053 unclassified women, 8.2% were minorities. Of 937 minority men and 379 minority women, 175 were black men; 140 were black women. The black share has increased from 1.8 to 2.0 but it is apparent that jobs for black women are less available. There is

evidence that this increase in the percentage of black males is occurring nationwide amid some speculation that this is a back lash against preferences for black women only a few years ago.

The number and percentage of minorities at the two doctoral campuses are:

Madison	1981 = 805 men	+	269 women =	9.8%
	1983 = 901 men	+	304 women =	10.4%
Milwaukee	1981 = 212 men	+	95 women =	12.4%
	1983 = 193 men	+	94 women =	11.2%

At my own institution, which is typical of the 4-year campuses, the figures are:

Oshkosh	1981 = 24 men	+	10 women =	4.6%
	1983 = 36 men*	+	16 women =	8.8%

*4.4 of these are Asian nationals who are/were desperately recruited to work in our computer science and business programs.

In 1983 there were 45 executive manager women--18 at UW-Madison; 14 at UW-Milwaukee; and 3 at Oshkosh; 5 at Extension and none in the 2-year centers.

It is evident from the trends presented above that there are more job opportunities for minority women on the larger urban campuses, that some do exist on the 4-year out-lying campuses, and in university Extension, but there are almost no opportunities on the 2-year nonurban predominantly white campuses.

Career path models that could be used by minority women who wished to advance in predominantly white institutions are rare. The greatest dearth is in higher education, while there is some literature on women in public school administration. Several trends emerge.

1. The minority aspirant to administration in academe should begin with some grounding and experiental background in a discipline.

2. Minority women currently come to academe from education and human services, but other disciplines are beginning to show growth.

3. A minority woman, more than others, must have the doctorate.

4. A minority woman needs the protection of tenure before she becomes "assistant to" or assumes other minor supervisory roles.

5. A minority woman must have experience in hiring, firing, and budgets. These can usually be gained most easily through grants.

6. A minority woman must have a resume that shows achievement and recognition by peers. These can be gained through committee assignments and professional organizations. Many of these must be with non-minority areas of interest.

7. A minority woman must realize that no one--not even white males--comes out of graduate school and moves into a deanship or senior position. It is a slow process that usually takes a decade or more to achieve.

8. Minority women must realize that they tend to be older when tapped for administration, but must guard against waiting until they will be considered "too old" (usually in the mid to late fifties).

9. Minority women should begin to network with non-minority women and become their natural allies.

REFERENCES

Astin, Alexander. Minorities in American Higher Education, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1982.

Brown, Frank & Madelon Stent. Minorities in U.S. Institutions of Higher Education, N.Y.: Praeger Publishers, 1977.

Copeland, Elaine, J. "Black Women and Power: Perspectives from Black Women Administrators," a paper for the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, 1979.

Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs. "Positive Effects of the Multiple Negative: Explaining the Success of Black Professional Women," American Journal of Sociology, 78. 912-935.

Fleming, Jacqueline. Blacks in College. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984.

Furniss, W. Todd & Patricia A. Graham. Women in Higher Education, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1974.

Middleton, Jerome. "Black Professors on White Campuses" Chronicle of Higher Education, 17.

Moore, William, Jr. and Lonnie H. Wagstaff. Black Educators in White Colleges, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974.

Ortiz, Flora Ida. "Restraining and Liberating Perceptions Regarding Minority Women's Institutional Participation," a paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, Montreal, Canada, April 11-15, 1983. See also Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 51.

University of Wisconsin System. The Education of Minorities in Wisconsin: A Joint Enterprise. A report of the Joint University of Wisconsin System, Department of Public Instruction Committee on Minority Student Affairs, May, 1984.

_____. Minority Enrollment in the University of Wisconsin System. Report of the Task Force, Jose Cortinas, Chair, 1980.

_____. Status of Minorities Report. University of Wisconsin System Office of Women and Minorities, 1983-84.

_____. Status of Women Report. University of Wisconsin System Office of Women and Minorities, 1983-84.